tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

184 643 [173] from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin. The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 611 631 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out, it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 651 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. [644] He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] [644] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/ today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 [534 177 192] The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum," "cylinder of a drum."

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually
[578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of
614 cousinship and outside the camp community
● 611 or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits
428 rank and privileges through the mother, regardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and skyscrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 A bride retains full title to all her personal
422 property including livestock, while the husband pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. Women are treated
562 with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

The discerning reader will have noticed that
● 611 the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems cross-cutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

611 into separate corporate bodies," and so the situation in the Ahaggar appears to be the reverse of that which Gibson found among the cattle-raising Herero of Ngamiland, in southwestern Africa. The Tuareg descent system is like that of the Herero, however, in that "The present function is in terms of a wide range of kin-like relationships leading to economic co-operation and to intermarriage among persons unrelated patrilineally" (although rarely "of scattered origin"). "Double descent, therefore, permits a society such as the Herero," or the Tuareg as a whole, "highly fractured into scattered and politically independent local groups, to maintain cultural uniformity and social cohesion. . . . The segmentation of matri-clans . . . appears to be no more than a mechanism for limiting the wide extension of exogamy and special privilege to persons not too distantly related; it was quite likely a concomitant of an expanding population and the scattering of the tribe."

It is not unnatural to jump to the conclu- 121
sion, as Gautier (1935, pp. 33 and 109), Lhote 611
(1955, pp. 186–88) and others have done, that the ancestral Tuareg of ancient times were [174]
exclusively matrilineal and fully matriarchal as well, and that the patrilineal elements we find in modern Tuareg culture were acquired relatively recently through Moslem influence, but this is not necessarily so. The concept of double descent was stated for the first time by Rattray (1923, pp. 77–78) in his description of the pagan Ashanti of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), among whom "Inheritance and succession to authority follow the female line and the avunculate exists, but residence is patrilocal and the household consists of a patriarchal extended family" (Murdock, 1940, p. 557, paraphrasing Rattray), a situation which was probably characteristic of the pre-Islamic Tuareg as well. The Ashanti also have matri-sibs based on "blood" inherited in the maternal line, and patri-sibs based on "spirit" inherited through the father, and this again suggests that the basic concepts underlying the double descent systems of the Ashanti and Tuareg have much in common.

Gibson (1956, p. 137) seems inclined to think that the double descent systems of the Herero and of the southwestern Bantu in general evolved "as a whole," matrilineal and

patrilineal elements being present together in a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

Land Tenure and Tribute. The Amenokal of the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from that of the President of the United States.

The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs under him collect tribute from those whose destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
101 Air. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab
[797] Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
● [611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ ⵏⵉ ⵜⵉⵎⵓ ⵙ ⵜⴰⵙⴰⴹⵜ,
ⵜⴰⵏ ⵙ ⵜⵜⵓⵏ ⵜⴰⵙⴰⴹⵜ, ⵉⵎⴰⵙ ⵙⵉⵏⵜ

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the "imr'ad," or serfs. Not only is the son noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child," but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is not customarily allowed in Moslem countries.

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi," over her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" [illegible], who sings her praises and makes verses for her, while she gives him something for his personal use. He is, in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only adultery in <u>flagrante delicto</u> can justify the anger of the husband.

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private in- [428] 611 631
heritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules.

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down [114]
"to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/.

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel [173] R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Taïtoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative.

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Taïtoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Taïtoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
M825 Tuareg M825
Air

given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 633 to 40 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250.

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg.

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g.,

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(tarat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups.

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:–

Mother's brother's daughter	7
Father's sister's daughter	4
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Other kinswomen	13
No blood-relationship between husband and wife	8
Marriages total	38

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar

sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubief has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *tawsit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (975 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (986), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*awari* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use suth unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 562 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society. It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions, and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society. [C11]

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Social Aspects of Stock-Breeding

Pastoral Tuareg have (or had) important matrilineal traits of social organization and also patrilineal traits which have been adopted partly through contact with the Arabs from whom they have taken over the Islamic rules of inheritance. Koranic inheritance rules are followed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, but some social aspects of Tuareg stock-breeding differ in these two areas.

AHAGGAR

I shall briefly describe the Koranic rules valid for inheritance of all kinds of individually owned property, e.g., livestock, material goods, and money, though most Tuareg do not regard money as something to be conserved. It is a main rule that children inherit their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as large as that allotted to a daughter. Important details of these rules can appropriately be illustrated with a few examples which I took down in Ahaggar:—

(1) A married couple having a son and a daughter. When the husband dies all his property is divided into eight parts of equal value. One of these parts is given to the widow, and the remaining seven parts are thereupon re-divided into three parts, two of which are allotted the son while one part is given to the daughter. When the widow dies her property is divided into three parts – two parts for her son, one part for her daughter.

(2) A married couple having a son and a daughter. The wife dies and her property is divided into four parts – one for the widower, another for the daughter, and two parts for the son. When the widower dies his property is divided into three parts – two parts for the son, one part for the daughter.

(3) A married couple having no children. At the death of the husband his property is divided into four parts. Only one of these parts is allotted to the widow, while the remaining three parts are taken over by individuals of the husband's family according to the rules mentioned below for inheritance from an unmarried man.

(4) A married couple having no children. At the wife's death her property is divided into two parts. One part is given to the widower, the other to the deceased wife's family.

(5) At the death of an unmarried man one sixth of his property is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), while the remainder is taken over by his father.

(6) An unmarried man who has lost his father, but has alive his father's father, a brother and a

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

brand known as *ayezlu*. To illustrate all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101 a–c).

The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*tésebert*) plaited from *afezu*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same hand (*afus*), or that they are of the same root (*éké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *tekkebilt*, another is *ayref*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hama*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Rela* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Tégehé-n-Éfis*, that is "the man *Éfis*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Ḫali*, that is "sons of the man *Ḫali*"; *Ayt Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikaderyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kadi*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Aǧuh-en-tahlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tahlé*" – the word *tahlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahnet*, that is "the people of the Ahnet country"; *Kel Taǧulǧt*, that is "people of the Taǧulǧt region", etc.).

Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakina* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Taytoḳ*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Aǧuh-en-tahlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Tégehé-n-Ellenen* for their tribe. Actually the *Aǧuh-en-tahlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Taǧhawhawt*, *Issudan*, and *Kel Ayrefan*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Issudan* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Ibettenaten* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen.

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Dag Ḫali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takama* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayt Lowayen* and *Kel Ahnet*. The *Dag Ḫali* tribe was founded by the man *Ḫali* who lived about seven generations ago. It falls into two halves known as the *Dag Ḫali* proper and the *Imazalitan*. Some Tuareg of the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

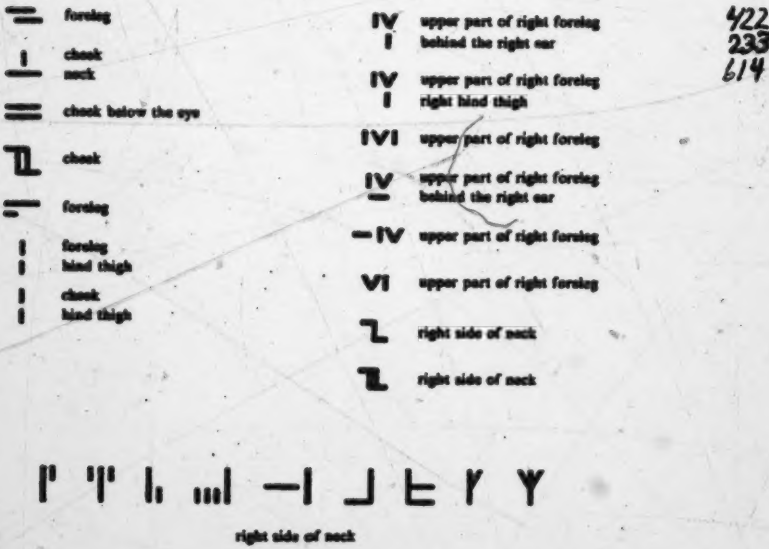

Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Ḫele* tribe.

b. Brands of the *Aḫnb-en-tehid* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *tamasert*. The brands ⅂ & ⅂ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikles-en-tawsit* tribe where the principal brand is ⅂ called *emesleg*.

c. Brands of the *Dag Ḫali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Ḫali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Ḫali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Ḫali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *tikkit n ayuleg*, that is "the raven's foot".

Dag Ḫali tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Ḫali* proper speak of the *Imezsiliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Ḫali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 [428] [565] Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 565 631 423 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). [643] [162] [570] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is